

Le Duan

SOME QUESTIONS
CONCERNING
THE INTERNATIONAL TASKS
OF OUR PARTY

SPEECH AT THE NINTH PLENUM OF THE THIRD CENTRAL
COMMITTEE OF THE VIET NAM WORKERS' PARTY

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The present plenum of the Central Committee is called in order to make decisions on some most important questions. During the past fortnight we have made detailed and serious studies and discussions. These discussions prove the complete and profound unanimity of the Central Committee of our Party. The international situation is very complicated, the more so when differences exist in the international communist movement, in particular, between the two biggest Parties commanding the highest prestige. For the present plenum of our Central Committee to reach this unanimity in such a situation is indeed a most important victory for our Party. We have achieved this victory because our Party has a firm and revolutionary tradition which is the crystallization of the uninterrupted revolution of our people during the past thirty years, and because every one of us attending the meeting has taken a correct and fully responsible attitude—adhering to the truth, distinguishing right from wrong, and concerning ourselves with internal and international unity, in particular, the unity with the Soviet Union and China.

Before Comrade Truong Chinh sums up the discussions and puts before the plenum a draft resolution for voting, I would like to express some opinions which I hope will bring out certain aspects of the basic points mentioned in the report submitted by the Political Bureau.

Some comrades among our Party members, though very few in number and mostly coming from the intelligentsia, hold that ours is a small Party which was

bred in a former colony with a backward agriculture and low cultural level, and consequently could comprehend very little of the science of Marxism-Leninism and understand very little of complicated international questions. How should we assess this opinion? It is correct that we must be modest. Modesty is a virtue of revolutionaries and of people with a scientific spirit. Nevertheless we must also see that as the revolutionary cause of our people cannot at any time be separated from the revolutionary cause of the people of the world, our Party, when mapping out the revolutionary line for Viet Nam, always starts from the concrete conditions in our country and bases itself on Marxist-Leninist principles, and always analyses the international situation and the tasks of the international communist movement. The victories won by our Party in its revolutionary struggles, such as the success of the August Revolution, the victory of the protracted resistance against the French and U.S. interventionists, the achievements of the socialist revolution in the north and the victory of the revolutionary struggles of our southern compatriots, have all demonstrated the correctness of the revolutionary line for Viet Nam mapped out by our Party. The correctness of our Party's line means that our Party has not only been able to understand accurately the concrete situation and its development in our country, but also to master the science of Marxism-Leninism, analyse correctly the concrete world situation and its development, and understand correctly the various questions concerning the international communist movement.

Marxism-Leninism is unlike other doctrines in that it not only explains the world but also remoulds it. To master the essence of Marxism-Leninism, one must

acquire revolutionary knowledge and possess oneself of a firm resolve to remould the world, that is, a thorough-going revolutionary spirit. No one can comprehend Marxism-Leninism and accurately understand the development of society no matter how many books he may have read or how many academic titles he may have acquired if he lacks the firm resolve to remould the world and lacks abundant revolutionary verve. Why did Kautsky and Plekhanov who were highly intellectual, and were respected by Lenin as teachers, finally bog down in the quagmire of opportunism? Because they finally lost their revolutionary verve, and as a result their knowledge became useless or even dangerous. What was the question around which the great debate concerning the character of the Party proceeded between Lenin and the Mensheviks? The Mensheviks advocated the building of the Party on the basis of their scholastic understanding of Marxism while Lenin held that the revolutionary spirit was the basis for building the Party. Anyone who adopts the Menshevik attitude towards Marxism-Leninism will sooner or later embark upon the opportunist road. There are in our Party as well as in other fraternal Parties some members and cadres who for one reason or another fail to keep up their fighting will and revolutionary spirit, and consequently they cannot recognize correctly and see clearly the boundless prospects of revolution held out before the world, even if they have read volumes of Marxist-Leninist classics. We, therefore, may well say that the series of differences existing in the present international communist movement reflect none other than the two different attitudes towards such questions as **whether or not to make revolution, whether or not to struggle for the labouring**

people and the oppressed and exploited masses, and whether or not resolutely to annihilate imperialism and capitalism.

Another outstanding reason giving rise to the mistaken revisionist viewpoints on international questions is that the developing process of the Marxist-Leninist theory of revolution, in particular that of recent decades, has not been fully understood.

Marxism-Leninism is not a static science but one which is continuously developed and enriched by new conclusions drawn from the practice of the vigorous revolutionary struggles launched by millions upon millions of the masses.

When Marx and Engels wrote the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, they drew the following logical conclusion only through the study of the laws of development of human society, in particular, the laws of development of capitalist society: **The proletariat is bound to be the grave-digger of capitalism and the builder of a new social system, i.e. communism;** and to fulfil this historical mission the proletariat must carry out a revolution to overthrow the bourgeois rule and establish a government of its own. As to how the proletariat is to bring this revolution into effect and seize political power, Marx could not and would not then state his views. Being an out-and-out dialectical and historical materialist, Marx was looking forward to the masses to carry on creative practical activities and then draw conclusions from them.

The Paris Commune marked the first proletarian revolution in history. From the Commune Marx drew the conclusion that the proletariat **must smash the machine**

of violence of the bourgeoisie and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat and launch offensives against the enemy. At the same time Marx also maintained that the proletarian revolution must have "popular character". In other words, in order to win victory the proletarian revolution must draw in not only the proletariat but also the peasantry, because in none of the capitalist countries on the European continent during the 1870s did the proletariat constitute the majority of the population. As a matter of fact, Marx's idea on the necessity of combining the proletarian revolution with the revolutionary movement of the peasantry had already taken shape during the 1850s. The famous dictum written by Marx in 1856 in a letter to Engels says: "The whole thing in Germany will depend on the possibility of covering the rear of the proletarian revolution by a second edition of the Peasants' War."¹ It was precisely in the spirit of combining proletarian revolution with the revolutionary movement of the peasantry that Marx advanced the theory of **uninterrupted revolution**. It was also on the basis of the theory of uninterrupted revolution and the observation of the European revolutionary practice that Marx put forward the proposition that the centre of revolution was shifting itself from England to Germany. As we know, Marx and Engels at first held that the proletarian revolution was to burst forth first in the most developed capitalist countries. Later, however, Marx believed that revolution would first occur in Germany and after Germany in France and England, in spite of the fact that both France and England had already com-

¹ "Marx to Engels, London, 16 April, 1856", *Selected Correspondence*, International Publishers, New York, 1942, p. 87.

pleted their bourgeois revolution at a time while Germany was still "on the eve of a bourgeois revolution".¹ Marx maintained that should the bourgeois revolution burst forth in Germany, it would be possible for it to develop incessantly and turn into a proletarian revolution and henceforth to abolish the capitalist system, provided the proletarian revolution was assisted by "a second edition of the Peasants' War". Marx further elaborated the idea mentioned above and predicted that revolution will start from the East which has served for a long time as a firm base and reserve force for the counter-revolutionary side.

The birth of Leninism signifies a great and new development of the theory of proletarian revolution. How did Lenin develop this theory? He drew the conclusion from the Paris Commune that the Commune failed because it did not win the support of the peasantry. He developed and created the great theory on the role of the peasantry in the socialist revolution and on the worker-peasant alliance led by the working class, and took it as the highest principle of proletarian dictatorship. Proceeding from the characteristics of capitalism in the imperialist era, Lenin advanced the idea anew that the question of proletarian revolution was precisely the demand brought about by the ripening of the entire system of world capitalism, and took the proletarian revolution and the ripening of world capitalism as two parts of an integral whole. He also put forward the theory of the uneven ripening of the revolution in the different countries and of the possibility of the proletariat winning victory in one country. He refuted the dogmatic view-

¹ Marx and Engels, "Manifesto of the Communist Party", *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1958, Vol. I, p. 65.

point advocated by the revisionists of the Second International which held that proletarian revolution would occur and win victory only in highly developed capitalist countries where the broad working class was concentrated and organized and constituted the overwhelming majority of the population. As for those countries where capitalism was underdeveloped and the working class formed the minority of the population, the revisionists held that the proletariat had to wait for capitalism to develop. Lenin, however, taught us that because of the combination of internal and external causes which give rise to a direct revolutionary situation, **revolution can occur first in an economically backward country** if that country formed the weakest link in the imperialist chain. And this is possible under the conditions of imperialism. In such a country revolution not only can burst forth but can win victory, because even if the working class is small the broad masses of peasantry make up an important revolutionary force. A very powerful revolutionary force able to overthrow any reactionary rule will appear if the proletarian leadership of the peasantry is ensured and a worker-peasant alliance realized. Lenin further taught us that in the imperialist countries where capitalism is highly developed, there exist many factors which make it more difficult for the revolution to burst forth than in the backward countries which are oppressed and exploited by imperialist countries. This explains why it was so much easier for the proletarian revolution to burst forth in Russia than in Germany, France or Britain. ". . . *Instead* of the absolute preponderance of workers, that is, of proletarians in the population, and a high degree of organisation among them, the important factor of victory in Russia was the support the proletarians re-

ceived from the poorest and quickly pauperised peasantry."¹ Lenin created **the great theory on the inseparable relationship between the bourgeois-democratic revolution and the socialist revolution** in the imperialist epoch. Lenin taught us that in countries where the bourgeois revolution has not yet taken place, the proletariat must not allow the bourgeoisie to assume leadership over the peasantry in the bourgeois revolution, but must take the leadership into its own hands, so as to carry out together with the peasantry the bourgeois-democratic revolution to overthrow the feudal rule. He also taught that after the overthrow of the feudal rule the proletariat must not stop the revolution midway, awaiting the peaceful development of capitalism and separating the bourgeois-democratic revolution from the socialist revolution by an impenetrable wall, but must push the revolutionary movement further and wage a socialist revolution together with the impoverished peasantry.

Lenin said that apart from its domestic ally, the broad masses of the peasantry, the proletariat must unite with another great ally in the anti-imperialist common front, **the oppressed colonial and semi-colonial nations**, in each of which the peasantry makes up the most important part. Lenin highly appraised the revolutionary movement of the oppressed nations, taking it as a component part of the world proletarian revolution. He said:

The revolutionary movement in the advanced countries would indeed be a mere deception if complete and close unity did not exist between the workers

¹ Lenin, " 'Left-Wing' Childishness and Petty-Bourgeois Mentality", *Selected Works*, Lawrence and Wishart, London, 1946, Vol. 7, p. 369.

fighting against capital in Europe and America and the hundreds and hundreds of millions of "colonial" slaves who are oppressed by that capital.¹

Lenin predicted:

. . . In the impending decisive battles in the world revolution, the movement of the majority of the population of the globe, which at first is directed towards national liberation, will turn against capitalism and imperialism and will, perhaps, play a much more revolutionary part than we expect.²

In analysing the perspective of the world proletarian revolution and the victory of the Russian Soviet communist construction, Lenin said:

In the last analysis, the outcome of the struggle will be determined by the fact that Russia, India, China, etc., account for the overwhelming majority of the population of the globe. And it is precisely this majority that, during the past few years, has been drawn into the struggle for emancipation with extraordinary rapidity, so that in this respect there cannot be the slightest shadow of doubt what the final outcome of the world struggle will be.³

The great creations of Lenin's — the theories on the role of the peasantry in the proletarian revolution, on

¹ Lenin, "The Second Congress of the Communist International", *Selected Works*, Lawrence and Wishart, London, 1946, Vol. 10, p. 160.

² Lenin, "The Tactics of the R.C.P. (B.), Report Delivered at the Third Congress of the Communist International, July 5, 1921", *Selected Works*, Lawrence and Wishart, London, 1946, Vol. 9, pp. 228-29.

³ Lenin, "Better Fewer, but Better", *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1952, Vol. II, Pt. 2, p. 750.

the relationship between the bourgeois-democratic revolution and the socialist revolution, and on the part played by the national-liberation revolution in the proletarian revolution — refuted the theory of the Trotskyites, which advocated the overthrow of the Tsar and the establishment of a workers' state power exclusive of the peasantry — the great ally of the working class. Lenin's great creations defeated the absurd theory of the Mensheviks which held that the Russian bourgeois-democratic revolution was the exclusive concern of the Russian bourgeoisie and that that class alone was capable of leading the revolution, while the proletariat could only play a minor part in the revolution and should not form an alliance with the peasantry. Lenin's creations also tore to shreds the traitorous viewpoints of the leaders of the Second International which denied the possibility of a revolution in the colonies and dependent countries, and thereupon brought about the burgeoning of the national-democratic revolutionary movement in the colonial countries. The afore-mentioned great creations of Lenin's not only demonstrated his revolutionary genius, but also his firm determination to annihilate imperialism, capitalism and other reactionary forces, as well as his firm belief in the great strength of the united workers, peasants and oppressed nations. It is because of these creations of Lenin's that the October Socialist Revolution won victory in one-sixth of the globe, that the reactionary rule of the Tsar was overthrown, that a link in the imperialist chain was torn and a new epoch for progressive mankind emerged. The dream of a new system which man had cherished for thousands of years, a system without the exploitation of man by man, had at long last been realized. This new system shook the

world and provided an illustrious example for the millions upon millions of oppressed and exploited, arousing them to stand up and seek their emancipation.

Why could not the leaders of the Second International have done likewise and created the afore-mentioned theories on the proletarian revolution? There are many reasons behind this. The most fundamental, however, is ideological and that is that these people lacked a resolve for revolution. And therefore they lacked the resolve to seek for allies to defeat the enemy, and on the contrary, exerted all their energies to concoct a theory which served to curry favour and make compromise with the enemy, in order to realize their absurd illusions.

Stalin in theory and practice faithfully put into effect and developed the afore-mentioned ideas of Lenin's. He specially concerned himself with and fully supported the revolutionary movement of the oppressed nations, and highly appraised the role played by the national-liberation revolution in defeating imperialism and winning victory for socialism in the world as a whole. Stalin put forward the celebrated proposition that **the national question is essentially the peasant question and the peasant question is a basic and decisive factor in the anti-imperialist front of the national-liberation revolution.** Stalin made great contributions to the Chinese revolution. He indicated that the chief direction of the Chinese revolution was to establish the leading role of the working class in relation to the peasantry, mobilize the millions upon millions of peasants, and arm the workers and peasants so as to fight armed counter-revolution with armed revolution. At the 19th Congress of the C.P.S.U., Stalin made a profound summing-up of the revolutionary movement of the time and called on the

Communists to "uphold the banner of national-democratic revolution and march ahead" — a bugle-call summoning us to the battle front.

The Chinese revolution marks a new stage of development in the Marxist-Leninist theory of proletarian revolution. Lenin once urged the Communists to give the theoretical grounds for the proposition that it was possible for the economically backward countries to take the non-capitalist road of development.¹ He also urged the Communists to develop and try to elucidate Marxism-Leninism so as to adapt it to the situation in the colonies and dependent countries where the peasantry constitutes the overwhelming majority of the population.² It is precisely the Chinese Communist Party headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung which most brilliantly put into effect these teachings of the great Lenin. The most outstanding development and creation made by the Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung to the Marxist-Leninist theory of proletarian revolution is the theory of the revolution which has the peasantry as its main force and is led by the proletariat in a country where agriculture is the dominant sector of the national economy and where a bourgeois-democratic revolution is being waged to realize national liberation and democracy, so as to pass directly on to socialism. In this country the peasantry is not only seen as the greatest ally of the proletariat and the greatest reserve in the proletarian

¹ Cf. Lenin, "The Report of the Commission on the National and Colonial Questions at the Second Congress of the Communist International", *Selected Works*, Lawrence and Wishart, London, 1946, Vol. 10, p. 243.

² Cf. Lenin, "Address to the Second All-Russian Congress of Communist Organizations of the Peoples of the East", *Collected Works*, 4th Russian edition, Vol. 30, pp. 139-40.

revolution, but the main force of the revolution. Here exists not only the question of revolutionary forces but a series of questions concerning the revolutionary line and methods, such as the question of uprisings in the rural areas, the relying on the rural areas, the establishment of rural bases, the encirclement of cities by villages; and questions concerning the mobilization of peasants, the protracted armed struggles, the building of a strong Marxist-Leninist political party, of a workers' and peasants' revolutionary army and of a broad anti-imperialist and anti-feudal national united front with the workers and peasants as its basis, and so on. Some genuine Marxists, both past and contemporary, doubted the truth of these theories, thinking that they smacked of Narodism just as the opportunists had thought that Leninism contained certain peasant characteristics. Nevertheless, these theories have become tried and tested truths, thanks to the victory of the Chinese revolution. The great value of these theories lies first of all in the fact that they guided one-fourth of mankind onto the road of proletarian dictatorship. These theories are no longer limited to the country of China, but have become theories of international significance. Learning and creatively applying these theories, we Vietnamese Communists have guided the revolutionary cause of our country to victory. If Lenin pointed out that the Russian revolutionary tactics were exemplary tactics for all Communists in the world, then we may say that the Chinese revolutionary tactics are at present exemplary tactics for many Communists in Asia, Africa and Latin America. It is by no means accidental that the Chinese Communist Party is the first to develop and create these

theories. It is a creation of a protracted revolution in a big country with a population of over 600 million.

* * *

What do we find if we try to analyse the present world situation by applying our theoretical knowledge of the proletarian revolution as mentioned above with whole-hearted revolutionary enthusiasm? (First of all, we should not forget that it is almost twenty years since the end of World War II. Although twenty years is only a brief period in history, it is long enough for many great changes to have taken place in the present world. There was only a span of a little more than twenty years between the end of World War I and the outbreak of World War II.)

Although we do not forget that in terms of fundamental principle the world today is still divided into two systems, socialism and capitalism, we can, on the other hand, see that, judging from the economic, social and political characteristics, there are three kinds of countries in the world concentrated in three different areas. They are 1) the socialist countries; 2) the imperialist or well-developed capitalist countries; and 3) nationalist countries which have attained varying degrees of independence but are still oppressed and exploited by imperialism and colonialism, and a small number of countries still under direct imperialist and colonial rule. Geographically, most of the countries of the third category are in Asia, Africa and Latin America, with a few in Oceania. For the sake of convenience, we often call them the Asian, African and Latin American countries.

Each area of the world is characterized by its own law of development.

There is no doubt at all that the socialist camp is now more powerful than the imperialist camp and is becoming the decisive factor in the development of human society. This strength is jointly built up as a result of the all-sided, uninterrupted development of all socialist countries in the economic, political, military, scientific and technological fields. The question which must be made clear is: What constitute the main factors which enable the strength of the socialist camp to play the decisive role in the development of human society? In my opinion, they are the political line, the revolutionary line and the line for building a new socio-economic structure represented by the socialist camp.

In the first place, the socialist camp at present embraces more than 1,000 million people who have entered into socialism from different levels of economic development and different social systems. Among the socialist countries, the Soviet Union was formerly an imperialist country where capitalism was comparatively well developed; China and Cuba were former semi-colonial and semi-dependent countries; Viet Nam and Korea were former colonial countries with a backward agricultural economy. . . . That is to say that more than 1,000 million people have found the political and revolutionary line leading to socialism, which conforms with the law of social development and is suitable for all nations in the present world no matter what their political and social system, and no matter what their level of economic development. As a result, the people of all countries, not only the people of the imperialist and highly developed capitalist countries in western Europe and northern America, but particularly the millions upon millions of people of the economically backward and under-

developed Asian, African and Latin American countries, have come into possession of a tested revolutionary line for liberation by dint of their own strength—a most effective and incisive weapon for shattering and destroying the fortress of imperialism and eliminating the world capitalist system. This amounts to the most powerful offensive against the imperialist rule.

Secondly, proceeding from the nature of its economy, the socialist camp consistently upholds the line for safeguarding world peace, constantly raises high the banner of peace, and resolutely opposes the plots and manoeuvres for war of the imperialists headed by the United States. This line for safeguarding peace plays a role of organizing and encouraging millions upon millions of working people and other peace-loving people to rise in struggle and resolutely smash the policy of war—the most fundamental policy which the imperialists headed by the United States are pursuing at present. This is also a powerful offensive against imperialism.

Thirdly, at a time when the economy of the capitalist countries is constantly in a state of sickness and decay and weakened by cyclical crises and the frequent standstill of many departments of production, the socialist relations of production of the socialist countries which are characterized by two forms of ownership of the means of production, ownership by the whole people and collective ownership, have opened the path for a constant high-speed growth of the productive forces. The fact that the socialist countries are successfully carrying out construction and developing their economy proves that the proletariat and the peasants, formed into an alliance, not only can overthrow the rule of imperialism and other exploiting classes, but also can transform the old econ-

omy and build up a sound new economy of proportionate development. The people of the socialist countries, regardless of the condition of their economy, can also build their own independent economy by relying mainly on their own efforts combined with the internationalist help from the fraternal countries of the socialist camp and, on this basis, co-operate with the fraternal socialist countries on the principles of complete equality, free-will, mutual respect of sovereignty, mutual benefit and comradely mutual assistance. This example of the socialist camp has further encouraged the people of the countries under the capitalist system to rise in a revolution to smash the rule of imperialism and other reactionary forces, set up a new society and build a free, happy and prosperous life far better than that under the capitalist system. This is another powerful offensive against imperialism.

This means that the socialist camp has increasingly become the centre for rallying and guiding all revolutionary forces and all forces of peace and democracy in the world which are against the imperialists and other reactionaries. The socialist camp is the bulwark of world revolution and as well as one of world peace. By closely combining the vigorous effort for increasing the strength of the socialist camp in every field with the all-out support for the revolutionary movement of the people of the various countries, by closely combining the two main revolutionary tides of our times—the struggle for socialism and the struggle for national liberation, and by closely combining the revolutionary struggle for overthrowing the rule of imperialism with the struggle for defending world peace, the socialist camp, the working class, the working people of the

various countries, the oppressed nations and the forces of peace and democracy will be able to defeat the plots of the imperialists for launching a world war, safeguard world peace, and at the same time repulse imperialism in every area. Obviously, our camp's offensive against the imperialist camp finds expression chiefly in its political line, in the efforts to bring it to and closely link it with the millions upon millions of people in the countries under the capitalist system, to bring into full play their great revolutionary creative initiative and to accelerate the process of disintegration of imperialism in accordance with the laws of historical development, so that the socialist camp can play its decisive role in the historical development of mankind. As Marx said, when the revolutionary line of the proletariat has gone deep in the midst of the masses, it will become a great force turning the whole capitalist world upside down.

Many people hold that the chief factor which has enabled our camp to grow strong and play a decisive role in the progress of human society is the superiority we have attained in nuclear weapons and their vehicles of delivery. True, the superiority that the Soviet Union has gained in nuclear weapons and in the vehicles for delivering them to their destinations has deprived imperialism headed by the United States of its monopoly of a terrible weapon of mass slaughter with which it has threatened the people of the world, and thus prevented it from venturing on a nuclear war. The people of the world deeply admire and are extremely grateful to the people of the Soviet Union for the tremendous sacrifices they have sustained and the great wisdom and ability they have displayed in gaining nuclear superiority. Nevertheless, nuclear weapons in the hands of the socialist

camp are a means for defending peace. To us they are not for offence, but chiefly for self-defence. The capacity for self-defence is of course tantamount to the capacity for offence. But the power to attack and destroy imperialism lies not in nuclear weapons, but in the revolutionary actions taken by the masses who, under the guidance of a correct political and revolutionary line, rise resolutely to smash all the fetters of the slaves. It was by dint of a correct political and revolutionary line that the revolutions in China and Viet Nam obtained victory at a time when atomic weapons were still monopolized by U.S. imperialism. It was again by dint of a correct political line, and not because of the possession of nuclear weapons, that the revolutionary movement in the various continents has been surging forward like an angry, irrepressible torrent in the past twenty years. However great a superiority the socialist camp may establish in nuclear weapons, imperialism cannot be destroyed and human society cannot move a step forward towards the era of world-wide transition from capitalism to socialism if there is not a correct political line to guide the people of the various countries to carry forward the revolution or if this revolutionary movement is not guided by a correct political line for winning victory. It is therefore obvious that the socialist camp has become the decisive factor in the progress of human society not because of its superior nuclear technology. Consequently, if we were to build our strength chiefly on the basis of nuclear weapons and base our strategy on them, the logical result would be that we can only take a defensive position. Even the imperialists have realized that by basing their policies on nuclear weapons they have landed themselves in a passive position. To

extricate themselves from this passive position, they have, in the military aspect alone, replaced the strategy of "massive retaliation" and "massive suppression" with the strategy of "flexible response", which combines three kinds of wars — global war, local war and "special warfare" based on nuclear as well as conventional weapons. If we Communists follow a strategic line with nuclear weapons as its mainstay, the logical result can only be a defensive strategy. At a time when the balance of the world forces has changed in favour of socialism and peace (a situation fundamentally different from that when the Soviet Union first came into being and existed as the only socialist country surrounded by imperialism) and when the surging revolutionary tide of the people all over the world is continuously dashing against imperialism with an irresistible force, to adopt such a defensive strategy is the same as to repudiate revolution both objectively and subjectively.

We have also heard some people say that the chief factor which enables the socialist camp to play its decisive role is economic construction. These people maintain that it is necessary to strive for a period of relaxation of tension for the socialist camp to develop its economy, so that it can greatly surpass the capitalist camp in gross output and *per capita* industrial and agricultural output, by then the conditions will be ripe for the socialist revolution to gain world-wide victory. We believe that nobody among us Communists will deny that the economic construction of the socialist countries is of particular importance to the revolutions of our own countries and the world, for economy is the foundation of society and the foundation of the material strength of the socialist camp. How to better manage and build the

economy of their own countries and at the same time contribute to the strengthening of the whole socialist camp is a question which constantly occupies the greatest attention of the parties in power in the socialist countries. But the point is this. Is it necessary to wait until the socialist camp has surpassed the capitalist camp in industrial and agricultural output before carrying the revolution forward to eradicate imperialism? Marxist-Leninist theories teach us that the development of the basic contradictions within the imperialist system creates the conditions for its destruction. Has not the revolutionary practice of the past decades proved the ripening of the world revolution? Revolution develops unevenly in different countries. The law of uneven development shows why revolution breaks out and achieves victory in one country, but not in another, when the conditions for revolution are generally ripe under the imperialist system as a whole. The difference in the degree of development between the socialist and capitalist camps cannot be taken to explain the conditions under which revolution does not break out and achieve victory in this or that country. In an era when the storms of revolution are everywhere destroying imperialism, some people speak yet about reaching a *détente* with imperialism so as to carry out economic construction, and place this desire above everything else. Whether you like it or not, the outcome will only be to hamper the development of revolution.

I believe the socialist camp does not have to wait until it outstrips the imperialist camp in *per capita* output before it can demonstrate its superiority over the capitalist camp and before the people of the various countries under the capitalist system can decide on their choice

between socialism and capitalism. In my opinion, it is an incorrect approach to the question. The socialist system has already demonstrated its superiority over the capitalist system in the past forty years and more. Did not the working people of the world already decide that the Soviet state power was a thousand times superior to the bourgeois regime even at the time when the Russian Soviets were first established, when the workers and peasants in Russia still did not have enough to eat and wear, and when there was a shortage of all consumer goods? The high-speed growth of the national economy is a concrete manifestation of the superiority of socialism. The amazing progress made by the Soviet Union in forty-five years and by the other fraternal socialist countries in less than twenty years has distinctly reduced the disparity between the socialist and capitalist camps in the level of economic development. Despite the devastation of two world wars, the Soviet Union with its Soviet system not only healed its serious war wounds, but also surpassed the advanced capitalist countries four, five or sixfold in the rate of average annual industrial growth. From a country whose industry was only one-seventh that of the United States or one-sixth that of West Germany, the Soviet Union today has become the second biggest industrial country in the world. The national economy of the other fraternal countries in the socialist camp has also grown at a speed never known before. In the last ten years, the average annual growth of the socialist camp was almost as high as 14 per cent, while that of the capitalist system generally did not exceed 5 per cent. The rapid economic growth of the socialist camp which I have just mentioned is the material foundation upon which the well-being of the working people

has been continuously improved, science and technology, including military science and technology developed, and the invincible strength of national defence of the socialist camp fortified. Another very important question is the existence in the socialist countries of the socialist relations of production. Despite the fact that the socialist countries are still behind the advanced capitalist countries in production capacity and absolute amount of output, these socialist relations of production enable the socialist countries to enforce a most fair and reasonable system of distribution, so that they can guarantee work for every working man, ensure a constant improvement of the livelihood of the working people, and completely eliminate unemployment and other social disasters. The socialist system is a system without the exploitation of man by man, a system of genuine democracy and genuine freedom where labour power is no longer regarded as a cheap unsalable commodity as in the capitalist world, and where not only the material life of the people is ensured, but human personality is respected and the finest and healthiest human sentiments are steadily developed. The characteristic of world progress is that all countries which have embarked on the road of socialism were established on an economic foundation far less developed than that of the imperialist countries. It is therefore understandable to the people of the world if there is at present still a certain disparity between the socialist and imperialist camps in the level of growth of production. Today, when the socialist economy is in its initial stage of development, we should not use the *per capita* output of industrial and agricultural products and the *per capita* food quota as the yardstick for measuring the superiority of socialism over capitalism, and much less should we use these as

the yardstick to evaluate the character of the people of the socialist countries who, inspired by lofty ideals, have become the true masters of their destiny and are working for the happiness of their own nations and for mankind as a whole.

We should give wide publicity to the inherent merits of the socialist system among the oppressed people of the world, explain to them the historical reasons why the level of economic development of the socialist countries is for the time being still lower than that of some capitalist countries, and point out to them the road of revolutionary struggle for overthrowing imperialism, burying capitalism and winning national and class liberation. If we lay lop-sided emphasis on the relatively low level of economic development of the socialist countries and take it as a weakness of the socialist system, if we assume that the world-wide triumph of the socialist revolution depends on the victory of the socialist camp in the economic competition between the two systems, we will be under-rating the position and role of the socialist camp in the cause of peace, national independence, democracy and socialism, abandoning the offensive against the enemy and landing ourselves in a position of passively biding our time, thus inflicting no small losses on the world revolutionary movement.

In a word, in analysing the decisive role of the socialist camp, we must proceed from the standpoint of class struggle and be guided by the thesis on the present epoch defined in the 1960 Moscow Statement that ours is a time of transition on a world-wide scale from capitalism to socialism, a time of struggle between the two social systems, a time of socialist revolutions and national-liberation revolutions, and a time of the breakdown of

imperialism and triumph of socialism and communism on a world-wide scale. We must proceed from the standpoint of historical materialism, looking upon the masses as the motive force of historical development, and must have long-range, fundamental, strategic viewpoints, ardent revolutionary enthusiasm and rich revolutionary knowledge. Only in this way can we make a correct analysis.

The revolutionary tides have risen highest in Asia, Africa and Latin America since the end of the World War II. Why?

In the first place, the working people in these areas, the overwhelming majority of whom are peasants, are victims of intense and merciless exploitation and oppression at the hands of imperialism, feudal forces and comprador bourgeoisie, victims of economic exploitation as well as barbarous national and class oppression and colour discrimination. Imperialism preserves the extreme backwardness of the colonies and dependent countries, where the working people, leading a life no better than that of slaves, are suffering from hunger and shortage of clothing and are constantly threatened by unemployment. The national bourgeoisie which has emerged in many countries since World War I want to develop their national capitalist economy, but are fettered by the feudal forces and crowded out by imperialism. The situation is crying out for revolution in order to attain national liberation and free the productive forces from the shackles of imperialism, feudal forces and comprador bourgeoisie. The slogans of national independence, land to the tillers, democracy and freedom are voicing the most urgent demands, and national and democratic ideals have become strong and most heart-stirring sentiments. These slogans

can mobilize and rally the various classes and strata of people who make up the overwhelming majority of a nation, including the workers, peasants, petty bourgeoisie, intellectuals, national bourgeoisie and other patriotic and democratic people, into a mighty revolutionary force, with the peasants forming the bulk of it. Under the impact of the Great October Revolution in Russia, this powerful revolutionary force has turned Asia, Africa and Latin America into new storm-centres of revolution. The Soviet Red Army's glorious victory over the German and Japanese fascists in World War II, the great victory of the Chinese revolution and the emergence and growth of the socialist camp (which includes a number of former colonies and dependent countries) are the external factors which have daily added force to this revolutionary storm. The working people, particularly the worker and peasant masses, have risen in a towering rage. They demand not only the liberation of the productive forces, but also the emancipation of the labouring masses from all class oppression and exploitation; they not only demand national liberation and democratic reforms, but also wish to embark on the path of socialism. The present revolutionary current in Asia, Africa and Latin America is, in nature, one of bourgeois-democratic revolution with national and democratic contents. But since it has taken place in the period of the world proletarian revolution and when more than 1,000 million people have achieved victory in the proletarian revolution, this bourgeois-democratic revolutionary current can very possibly become an uninterrupted revolution and join the tide of the socialist revolution, by-passing the stage of capitalist development. It was in this spirit that Lenin posed the question when he spoke about the new

storm-centres of revolution, about "the East in 1905", and about the connections between the future of the world socialist revolution and the revolutions in China and India. Imperialism is seized with terror in the face of the furious onrush of the national-liberation movement and the inevitable trend of the national-democratic revolutionary current heading towards socialism under the ever-increasing influence of the socialist camp. In an attempt to save colonialism from its doom and to thwart the revolutionary movement of the masses of workers and peasants and to ward off the influence of the socialist camp, imperialism has hastened to come to a compromise with the national bourgeoisie, its reactionary members in particular, and has declared concession of partial independence to a number of colonies and dependent countries. But in reality it is doing everything possible to preserve its colonial interests in a new form. This gives the lie to the baseless claim made by certain people that the emergence of a number of nationalist countries enjoying sovereignty in varying degrees is the result of struggles by peaceful means and of peaceful co-existence between the two opposing social systems. Imperialism will under no circumstances abandon colonialism, one of the foundations upon which it exists and rules. At a time when capitalism is confronted with a new general crisis, imperialism is riddled with more acute contradictions than ever before. This makes it all the more necessary for imperialism to push ahead with neo-colonialism and to grasp at it as a life-saving mystic charm. In order to suppress the resistance of the people, imperialism is resorting to all ways and means at its disposal, such as direct investment of capital, economic and military "aid", military alliances, fostering new social strata as tools,

buying over those in power, instigating *coups d'état* and subversive activities, and when necessary, not even hesitating to launch wars of aggression, "special warfare" and local wars — all these are aimed at dominating Asia, Africa and Latin America economically, politically and militarily. The national bourgeoisie, confronted with the ever-growing revolutionary movement of the masses, particularly the worker and peasant masses, and threatened, hoodwinked and subjected to bribery by imperialism, is rapidly disintegrating. Its anti-imperialist section wishes to develop an independent economy and pursue a foreign policy of peace and neutrality. It therefore has a progressive side, and its policy has a positive aspect advantageous to the national-democratic revolution of its own country and the common world front against imperialism. Another section of the bourgeoisie, generally the big bourgeoisie who control the political and economic life lines of certain nationalist countries, is increasingly coming into compromise with imperialism, carrying out a reactionary domestic and foreign policy, betraying the national interests and opposing the revolutionary movement of the worker and peasant masses, in order to maintain its own rights and position. The members of this section of the bourgeoisie dare not propose bourgeois democracy, because they are afraid that the worker and peasant masses will use the right to democracy and freedom to overthrow them. This is why in the nationalist countries where the reactionary section of the national bourgeoisie is in power, democratic reforms, particularly land reform, cannot be realized or fully realized, few of the important economic departments owned by imperialism have been nationalized, and the imperialists' investment of capital and "aid" are ever

mounting. Many nationalist countries which are economically and militarily dependent on the imperialist countries have also become political appendages to the imperialist countries. Although certain contradictions exist between the ruling reactionary bourgeoisie of these nationalist countries and this or that imperialist country, which we should tactically make use of in the struggle against bellicose imperialism and for safeguarding world peace, what is important is that we must see clearly that the basic trend of this reactionary section of the national bourgeoisie is one of coming increasingly into collusion with imperialism and openly opposing the worker and peasant masses. We must never allow ourselves to be deceived. Since the balance of class forces changes, since the contradictions between imperialism and feudalism on the one hand, and the masses of the people on the other, and between imperialism and feudalism on the one hand, and the national bourgeoisie on the other grow steadily more acute, different conditions and different degrees of division within the national bourgeoisie appear in different countries. But what is obvious is that in some countries, a greater part of the bourgeoisie has already abandoned the national-democratic banner and instituted fascist dictatorship, openly opposing communism and helping imperialism to strengthen its colonial rule. Under such circumstances, to follow the road of developing capitalism is actually to turn to the road of neo-colonialism dependent on imperialism. This is why many of the Asian, African and Latin American countries are characterized not only by intense national contradictions, but also by class contradictions which have already developed and are growing more and more acute. **In the national-liberation movement of the present era, the**

national struggle against imperialism is, therefore, inseparable from the internal class struggle of a nation, that is to say, the struggle for complete national independence is organically connected with the struggle for democracy and against the feudal forces, comprador bourgeoisie and reactionary forces which are lackeys of imperialism, and the struggle in the choice between the two roads of capitalist and non-capitalist development.

It is obvious that the task of completing self-emancipation confronting the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America is not one that can be accomplished simply by economic construction, even by building the section of state-owned economy with the aid of the socialist camp. It is more important for them to concentrate their strength to smash neo-colonialism and thoroughly complete the national-democratic revolution, and at the same time strive to lead their motherlands on to the road of non-capitalist development. When fulfilling these tasks, the peasant problem must be treated as a strategic one in the national revolution, and special importance must be attached to the agrarian revolution, because a national revolution that cannot solve the problems of the peasants who make up the majority of a nation amounts to a deception. Only through a long period of bitter revolutionary struggles can the people of the colonies, dependent countries and nationalist countries win complete victory.

Another important characteristic of Asia, Africa and Latin America is that these are not only areas where the contradictions between imperialism and the oppressed nations are sharpening and where the imperialist countries are hotly scrambling for domination, but are also areas of sharpening contradictions between the imperialist and the socialist camps. Imperialism is keeping a

desperate hold upon the Asian, African and Latin American areas, anxious not only to maintain their colonial interests and fight for markets, raw material and political and military spheres of influence, but also to try to prevent the growth of socialism in these areas and turn them into bases for launching wars against the socialist camp.

Imperialism headed by the United States is still continuing its frantic preparations for a new world war. But at present it dares not venture it, for it realizes that to launch a new world war against the socialist camp is to take the road of suicide. At the same time, the colonies and dependent countries which were once its secure rear have become or are becoming a constant and powerful anti-imperialist front. Colonialism — the principal foundation of the imperialist rule — is facing a crisis of total collapse. Consequently, imperialism is doing everything to quench the revolutionary flames of the colonies and dependent countries in an attempt to continue to enslave these countries and turn them into reserve forces against the socialist camp, and at the same time to exclude the influence of the socialist camp from these areas. As a matter of fact, imperialism regards Asia, Africa and Latin America not only as areas of contention between imperialism and the oppressed nations, but also as extremely important areas of contention between the imperialist and the socialist camps. The wild anti-Communist clamour of the bellicose imperialism and the more than a dozen local wars and "special warfare" it has launched in these areas in the past twenty years have laid bare its odious motives.

On the other hand, the national-liberation movements of the Asian, African and Latin American countries are continually pounding away at the colonial system. They

have become, or are becoming, the most powerful ally of the socialist camp and the working class of the imperialist countries in their revolutionary struggles. The victories of the national-democratic revolutions in China, Korea, Viet Nam and Cuba have blazed a trail to socialism for these four countries and enabled them to become members of the socialist camp. The national-liberation movements of Asia, Africa and Latin America, which are now dealing decisive and destructive blows at old and new colonialism, will not only hasten the downfall of imperialism, but will make it possible for many more revolutionary movements for national liberation to develop into socialist revolutions. This possibility arises from the tremendous influence of the socialist camp in these areas.

The realization of these possibilities will be the greatest and most effective contribution to preventing world war and safeguarding peace. It will also most speedily enhance the strength of the socialist camp. The above analyses clearly show that the revolutionary movements of Asia, Africa and Latin America have contributed directly to the rapid changes in the balance of forces in favour of peace, national independence, democracy and socialism. Such analyses, however, do not imply that we have underrated the contradiction between the socialist and imperialist camps, which is the most fundamental contradiction in the contemporary world. Not at all. The contradiction between the two camps is extremely acute. It is shown in the irreconcilable class struggle between the two antagonistic social systems and over the question of war and peace. It further sharpens the innate contradictions of the countries of the capitalist system and at the same time manifests itself in the fierce contention

between socialism and capitalism in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

On the whole, we can see that Asia, Africa and Latin America are **areas where many contradictions of the world are concentrated**—contradictions between the oppressed nations on the one hand and imperialism and old and new colonialism on the other, between peasants and feudal landlords, between workers and capitalists, between imperialist countries, and between the socialist and imperialist camps. There imperialism has received and is receiving the fiercest blows. There exist overwhelmingly strong revolutionary forces. There the ruling machinery is relatively weaker. There the ruling bourgeoisie is unlike its counterpart in western Europe and northern America which has under its control a well-developed economy, a strong political force, a well-developed culture and a powerful organization. Evidently Asia, Africa and Latin America form **the weakest link in the imperialist-capitalist chain**, where the imperialist-capitalist front can most easily be breached. Apart from the socialist camp, Asia, Africa and Latin America are areas where the most profound revolutionary changes are taking place every minute today. The national-democratic movement there is bringing about, as it did in the past and will continue to do so in the future, the most momentous, earth-shaking changes in the world.

The foregoing appraisal of the revolutionary movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America conforms to Marx's and Lenin's ideas of the proletarian revolution and the thesis set forth in the 1960 Moscow Statement. The Statement declares: "Today it is the world socialist system and the forces fighting against imperialism, for a socialist transformation of society, that determine the

main content, main trend and main features of the historical development of society." It is a question of utmost importance to understand the role of the revolutionary movement of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples and to lay down the strategic and tactical lines for the world communist movement to adopt towards this revolutionary movement. It has a direct bearing on the world-wide struggle against imperialism and for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism. Some among us underestimate or doubt about the revolutionary movements of the Asian, African and Latin American countries because they fail to see the various acute world contradictions that exist or are arising in these areas, because they fail to see the immediate revolutionary situations gaining momentum here, there and everywhere in these areas, and because they fail to detect the direction towards which the roaring revolutionary tide of these areas is flowing. No reactionary force whatsoever can check the gigantic revolutionary torrent of Asia, Africa and Latin America with millions upon millions of people. From an analysis of the conditions in each of the countries where an immediate revolutionary situation obtains, we can see a considerable disparity at the beginning in the balance between the revolutionary forces on the one hand and imperialism and all kinds of reactionary forces on the other. However, the stronger side is not imperialism and its lackeys, but the forces of the people who are rising in great vigour and waging a life-and-death struggle against their enemies. Given the guidance of a correct political line and full support and correct assistance from the socialist camp, the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America will find suitable forms of revolu-

tionary struggle and it is certain they will eventually defeat imperialism and all kinds of reactionary forces and make ever greater contributions towards the world-wide struggle against imperialism and for peace, national liberation, democracy and socialism.

In short, in appraising the national-liberation movements, we must proceed from the viewpoints of class struggle and proletarian revolution, from the viewpoint concerning our time embodied in the Moscow Statement and from the viewpoint of historical materialism which regards the people as the motive forces of social development, and we must have a whole-hearted revolutionary ardour, rich revolutionary knowledge and a strategic point of view. Only then can we make a correct appraisal.

* * *

The imperialist camp headed by the United States is in the process of acute weakening and collapsing. Since the end of World War II its sphere of control has been continuously narrowed. The basic contradiction of capitalism — the contradiction between the social character of production and capitalist private ownership — has been aggravated to the extreme. A rapid trend has been under way in all imperialist countries towards state monopoly capital, and an international alliance of this capital has been set up. Consequently imperialism has used all its available strength under the capitalist system to prop up this system. It has taken all measures possible under this system in a vain attempt to prevent the outmoded capitalist relations of production from being broken through by the highly developed productive forces. The problem of markets has become unprecedented-

edly sharp in the economy of the imperialist countries, which has become a long ailing economy. Its decadence is shown in that the possibility of increasing consumption is being restricted and is lagging behind the possibility of expanding production. The period between economic crises in the United States — the richest of the imperialist countries — steadily shortens. In many countries partial crises in certain economic departments recur ceaselessly, a big army of regular unemployed exists, social parasites multiply daily, non-productive expenditures and those which do not serve life's needs increase day by day, there is a constant deficit in the national finances, inflation gets more and more serious, the value of more stable currencies depreciates steadily, and so on and so forth. The most marked of all these features is the highly militarized economy. In short, economically imperialism is rich but not powerful. On account of the shrinking markets and uneven economic development, the balance of forces between the imperialist countries changes constantly while the contradictions between them as well as between the imperialist blocs become increasingly acute. The imperialists now find themselves in such a situation that in order to maintain capitalism and cope with the socialist camp, the national-liberation movements and the working-class movements in their own countries they realize that they can no longer go it alone but must unite together and organize economic, military and political blocs. However, contradictions, internal conflicts and clashes arise from such alliances, and they are reduced to coping passively with one another.

The aggressive and warlike nature of imperialism has not changed. As Lenin has taught us, violence is the basic trend of imperialism, and it is through violence

that it grows. Imperialism uses violence as the chief means of oppressing and exploiting the people of its own country and other countries. At present this trend of violence has not lessened with the weakening of imperialism; on the contrary it has intensified. It is this trend that decides **the basic policy of imperialism as one of war** and not of peace.

Clearly, today imperialism headed by the United States still takes the policy of war as the basic policy in a vain attempt to maintain its rule. The greater the danger of extinction it confronts, the more it clings to this policy. A war policy is the inevitable outcome of an imperialist economy. It is, therefore, the policy of the entire monopoly capitalist class which represents this economy and not the policy of certain individuals. From the end of World War I and the defeat of the armed intervention against the Soviet Union by fourteen countries down to the 1930s, imperialist wars of aggression occurred on different scales, such as the war of Japanese aggression in 1931 when Japan occupied China's three northeastern provinces and the war of aggression against Ethiopia in 1935 provoked by the Italian fascists, and other wars. Soon after the conclusion of World War II the gunshots of imperialist aggression were again heard and have not stopped up to date. The more than ten local wars and "special warfare" of aggression provoked by imperialism in the last eighteen years speak volumes for the warlike nature of present-day imperialism.

The Soviet Union's possession of nuclear weapons and its nuclear superiority over imperialism have upset the military strategy of the imperialist camp and the war preparation plans of imperialism but have not made it give up its war policy. The strategy of "massive re-

taliation" and "massive suppression" based on nuclear monopoly and nuclear superiority has led it into a blind alley and a passive position. It has come to realize that with nuclear weapons it cannot destroy the socialist system, nor the national-liberation movements, nor the working-class movements at home. It has to give up the strategy of "massive retaliation" and "massive suppression" and substitute for it a "flexible response" strategy, which includes three kinds of war based on nuclear and conventional weapons: global war, local war and "special warfare". This "flexible response" strategy further reveals the warlike nature of imperialism headed by the United States because it tries every possible means to start a war and when it runs into difficulties in its preparation for launching a world war it resorts to the long-term employment of local wars and "special warfare" to oppose the socialist camp, the national-liberation movements and the revolutionary movements in the imperialist countries.

Another basic policy of present-day imperialism is neo-colonialism. Colonialism has been one of the bases for the existence and development of imperialism. Today, in the face of the growth of the national-liberation movements the imperialists realize the difficulty of maintaining their colonial system in the old form and therefore they are trying to maintain it by a more cunning method and in a new form.

With imperialism settling upon the policy of neo-colonialism, although only fifty million people now remain under the direct rule of old colonialism, about a thousand million are suffering from the oppression and exploitation of neo-colonialism which is ever more deceitful and cunning. The crisis of neo-colonialism is

aggravating. U.S. imperialism has become the main bulwark of colonialism of modern times.

Imperialism has no way of stemming the high tide of revolution after World War II. In discussing the historical position of imperialism Lenin called it moribund capitalism, a stage of transition from capitalism to a higher order and the eve of socialist revolution. This is because the contradictions of capitalism sharpen to the extreme under imperialism, and there is a call for the solution by uprooting this system in a revolution; because the development of these contradictions weakens capitalism and creates conditions for the outbreak and success of revolution; and because imperialism has produced its own grave-digger, that is, the mighty revolutionary forces of the proletariat within the imperialist countries and the mighty forces of the national-liberation movements in the colonies, semi-colonies and dependent countries. However, imperialism will not collapse altogether in a single moment but bit by bit. This process, starting from the great October Revolution in Russia, will occupy a whole historical period — the period of transition from capitalism to socialism on a world scale. Following the October Revolution a revolutionary situation appeared in a number of capitalist countries of Europe. In some countries this situation was favourable to immediate revolutionary action. However, the revolutions were not successful for lack of subjective conditions. The October Revolution not only aroused the revolutionary spirit of the working class in the imperialist countries but also awakened the oppressed people of colonies and dependent countries. Many of these colonies and dependent countries became new storm-centres of revolution, in close co-ordination with the revolutionary movements of the

working class in the "metropolitan countries". After a period of upheaval, however, imperialism secured a temporary stability while the Soviet Union and the world revolutionary movement for the time being were on the defensive.

The signal victory in the anti-fascist war won by the democratic forces headed by the Soviet Union greatly weakened imperialism and ushered in a new period of revolutionary upsurge for the people of the world. This upsurge is characterized by its continuous vigorous development from its first appearance to the present, by its many-sided attacks against imperialism and by its repeated successes. The main trend of the revolutionary upsurge is directed to Asia, Africa and Latin America. Its greatest fruits are the birth of four socialist countries, of which China is the largest and has, together with the Soviet Union, become the mainstay of the socialist camp. This revolutionary upsurge has led to the establishment of more than fifty nationalist states, enjoying sovereignty in varying degrees. Imperialism has tried every means to prevent this upsurge. As it has failed in all its schemes, it has had to withdraw from one region after another. Now that the socialist camp has gained strength and become the decisive factor in the development of human society and that imperialism is daily weakening and decaying, it is more possible than ever for the people of the world to repulse imperialism step by step and rout it bit by bit.

Failing to stop the national-liberation movements and seeing that the socialist camp has grown strong and the Soviet Union has gained nuclear superiority, the imperialists have substituted the strategy of "flexible response" for that of "massive retaliation" and tried to

change their passive position into one of initiative. But the people of the world will smash their new strategy. The imperialists possess a powerful machinery of violence, but they have to cope with the socialist camp, with the people in their own countries, with each other in their own groups and with the oppressed nations. In short, they have to deal with so many adversaries that they are compelled to divide their strength and thus left with limited strength to deal with any particular area. As a result, the balance of forces between them and the people in all areas is in many cases advantageous to the people and not to them so that the people in these areas are in a favourable position to defeat them.

To sum up, in analysing and criticizing imperialism we must apply the viewpoint of class struggle and proletarian revolution and the viewpoint concerning our time as defined in the 1960 Moscow Statement. We must lay main emphasis in these viewpoints, and not on the viewpoint of war and peace. We must apply the viewpoint of historical materialism to assess our strength, our power, and must regard the masses of people as the motive force of historical development. Only in this way can we make a correct assessment of our own strength and that of imperialism. We must lay main emphasis on the viewpoint of strategy and that of long-range, basic development, and not on that of the tactics of expediency. Certain comrades have committed errors in analysing the world situation precisely because they have wrongly analysed and assessed our own strength and wrongly assessed that of imperialism, treated tactics as strategy, and taken expediency instead of a long-range, basic revolutionary line as the main thing.

From an analysis of the general world situation and the characteristics and law of development of these three areas, we can see that the forces of revolution, socialism and peace have greatly surpassed the forces of reaction and war of imperialism. We are stronger than the enemy. Revolution is, therefore, not on the defensive and the strategy of revolution should not be a defensive one. As it now stands, revolution is in an offensive position. The strategy of revolution should be an offensive strategy to smash one by one the war policies of imperialism headed by the United States until its war plans are completely smashed. By so doing imperialism will be repulsed step by step and overthrown bit by bit until it is completely destroyed. This situation is entirely different from that of decades ago when the Soviet Union existed alone, encircled by capitalism. It would be a serious error if one should today copy the strategy and tactics which Communists applied decades ago. When we say that this offensive strategy is a political strategy, a strategy of revolutionary struggle, this does not mean that we advocate the launching of a world war. Absolutely not, and none of the socialist countries ever advocates it. An offensive strategy means that while safeguarding world peace we promote revolutionary struggles in order to repulse imperialism step by step and overthrow it bit by bit. However, in safeguarding peace, it is also necessary to take an offensive against imperialism, and only in this way can peace be secured. Formerly when the Soviet Union was still weak, it was necessary at certain times to make concessions to the enemy in order to gain temporary relaxation and temporary peace, to gain time to consolidate and increase its strength, so as to cope with new clashes with imperialism. Today

our line of safeguarding peace is formulated in the light of the new balance of forces — we are strong while the enemy is weak. Our offensive forces imperialism into a position where it cannot launch war, and thus peace is secured. At present our line of safeguarding peace is still built upon such basis, i.e., the nature of imperialism definitely will not change; the weaker it becomes, the more it inclines to the use of violence; and its basic policy is the policy of war. Since imperialism is warlike and does not want peace, the method of making concessions to imperialism cannot be used to attain peace, and consultations cannot be taken as the basic method of safeguarding peace. In the process of striving for peace, consultations are necessary of course, but to win peace we must take the offensive against imperialist war policy and defeat it, which is the inevitable outcome of an imperialist economy. Peace can be achieved only by applying a sufficiently strong force to smash this war policy. This must be the forces of the masses which are mainly those of the socialist camp, the working class and other labouring people in the imperialist countries, and the oppressed nations. These are the three principal forces which make up the core. Only on the basis of close unity between them can the other peace forces be won over and a broad peace front formed. To be able to apply the strength of our socialist camp, we must increase this strength to protect our camp so that warlike imperialism will not dare to risk an attack on it. At the same time, we must have a correct political line for our camp to inspire, support and help the people of various countries in their struggles against imperialism.

■ The working class and other labouring people in the imperialist countries and the oppressed nations in the

old and new colonial countries are the mass forces in the imperialist economic structure. They are the direct participants in smashing the war policy that stems from an imperialist economy. Today there is already a possibility that they can create countless difficulties and obstacles for this war policy, and even abolish the economic system which produces it, and in this way they will be able to uproot this policy. Imperialism will be prevented from launching war only when the people of the world launch continuous offensives to tie its hands. Only by steadily weakening it will the possibility of its launching war be reduced and the possibility of safeguarding peace steadily increased. If we remain on the defensive instead of taking the offensive against imperialism, the result will only be to encourage and abet it to unscrupulously push forward its war policy, thus aggravating the war crisis.

Where should the step-by-step repulse and bit-by-bit overthrow of imperialism begin? Of course, it should begin in the areas where the best conditions now prevail, that is, Asia, Africa and Latin America. For the socialist system to pursue a policy of peaceful co-existence with the imperialist system can only lead to a stalemate with neither side capable of overthrowing the other. It is only by relying on the direct role played by the revolutionary struggles of the working class and other labouring people in the capitalist countries and the struggles of the oppressed peoples in the colonies, semi-colonies and dependent countries that imperialism can be completely overthrown. In the present time imperialism is being overthrown bit by bit in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, and no doubt it will continue to be overthrown first in the same areas.

We place great hopes in the revolutionary movements of the working class and other labouring people in the imperialist countries and developed capitalist countries. A successful revolution in these countries will uproot imperialism in its own den. This success in the industrially highly developed countries will create even more favourable conditions for the world-wide transition to communism. We firmly believe that due to the development of the inherent contradictions of imperialism, the far-reaching influences of the revolutionary movements of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, and the stepping up of the pursuance of the imperialist war policy, the working class and other labouring people in many imperialist countries will fully realize that unless they are fearless of making any sacrifice in carrying out the revolution to overthrow the rule of monopoly capital, it is possible that imperialism may lead mankind into a world war in which millions of people will be slaughtered. The working class and other labouring people will, therefore, rise more resolutely than ever before. Under such conditions, many imperialist countries can possibly become the centres of revolutionary storms, provided the Communist and Workers' Parties of these countries raise high the banner of revolution and isolate and defeat reformist ideology.

To serve the policy of war the monopoly capitalist groups in the imperialist countries have carried out a series of reactionary internal policies to the detriment of the life and political rights of the working class and other labouring people of various strata, and even the interests of certain section of the middle bourgeoisie--such as: increase of taxation, lowering of real wages of the workers, extension of working hours, restriction of

rights of democratic freedom, open introduction of fascism or encouragement to set up a fascist dictatorship, causing medium-sized and small enterprises to go bankrupt, etc. It is therefore possible to establish, in many countries, a broad united front embracing workers, peasants, urban petty-bourgeoisie, and even some members of the middle bourgeoisie to wage struggles for democracy and against the monopoly capitalist groups, for the defence of world peace and against the war policy of state monopoly capital. At present the struggle for democracy occupies a very important position. It is part of the struggle for socialism and must be waged in the spirit of revolution and not in the spirit of reformism. The policy of war is most dangerous to the working class and other labouring people. Every day it is attacking their living standards or even threatening their lives. Therefore, their struggle against the oppression and exploitation by state monopoly capital and in particular against its war policy may, under certain conditions, very possibly change into a revolutionary struggle of the masses who urgently demand the overthrow of the rule of such monopoly capital, so that they may prevent a new world war before it breaks out.

As monopoly capital is steadily inclining towards the use of violence and as almost all the imperialist and capitalist bureaucrat-military machines have been strengthened on an unprecedentedly large scale, while it is necessary for Communists to strive all they can for the possibility of peaceful development in the process of revolutionary progress, it is even more necessary for them to fully prepare for the possibility of the non-peaceful development of the revolution in order not to forgo their opportunities. Revolutionary violence is not a synonym

of armed struggle. Revolutionary violence may be political struggle or armed struggle, or a combination of the two. But it would not be correct to say that armed struggle absolutely cannot and should not be carried out in the industrially highly developed countries. Formerly the revolutionary war in Spain continued for a few years. The current international situation is much more favourable to revolution than the time of the Spanish revolutionary war and the situation in many countries is even more favourable. If the Communists of a certain imperialist country are compelled by the circumstances to take up arms in a revolution and otherwise they would miss the opportunity, how could they refuse to do so and instead wait for the possibility of peaceful development? Revolution cannot be exported or imported. There are objective and subjective reasons why a revolution breaks out and succeeds in a certain country. It is not a matter of subjective wish, like placing an order, that revolution will break out at any time one requires. This Marxist-Leninist principle is not, as some people have interpreted it, that a revolution is wholly decided by objective causes and the leading party only passively waits for it. On the contrary, this Marxist-Leninist principle teaches us that revolution may come sooner or later, may succeed or fail; apart from the objective causes which are independent of the will of the leading party, there are subjective causes on the part of the leadership of the revolutionary party. If the party which leads the revolution has a correct line, the masses will be aroused and strive more actively to create a revolutionary situation. But even with a revolutionary situation, if the leading party has no correct line, there will not necessarily be a revolutionary movement. With a revolutionary movement

and a revolutionary opportunity, if the leading party has no correct line, revolution will not necessarily succeed. This premise would also be completely correct if reversed. This conforms to historical materialism which teaches us that historical development is determined by objective laws and not by the will of man but that history is the history of mankind and is made by man himself.

* * *

The Vietnamese revolution is an inseparable part of the world revolutionary movement. As I have stated clearly, our Party has all along formulated the line and ideas of the Vietnamese revolution in the light of the concrete conditions in our own country and on the basis of the world situation and the common demands of the world-wide struggle for socialism, national independence and peace. The success of our August Revolution was inseparable from the victory of the Soviet Red Army and Soviet people in their war against the German and Japanese fascists. The victory of our people's long resistance was also closely connected with the victories of the Chinese people's revolution and the Korean people's patriotic war against U.S. aggression. On the other hand, the victories of the August Revolution and the war of resistance won by our people made important contributions to the promotion of the national-liberation movements, the increase of the strength of the socialist camp and the defeat of the plots of U.S. imperialism to extend the wars in Indo-China and Southeast Asia, thus positively contributing to the defence of the socialist camp and world peace.

Since the conclusion of the Geneva Agreements in 1954, our Party has maintained that the general tasks of the Vietnamese revolution are to carry out socialist revolution in the northern part of the country and at the same time continue the national-democratic revolution in the south, to achieve the peaceful unification of the fatherland, and to build a peaceful, united, independent, democratic, prosperous and strong Viet Nam. Revolutionary practice in the last nine years and more has proved that this line of the Vietnamese revolution conforms not only to the most earnest demands of the people of our whole country but also to the demands—the most urgent demands of the people of the world—for peace, national independence and socialism, and at the same time has made positive contributions to the common struggle for the realization of these demands. The revolutionary practice has also proved that if the socialist construction in the north plays the decisive role in the development of the Vietnamese revolution as a whole and in the unification of the fatherland, then it can be said that the revolutionary struggle of the people of the south plays a direct role in overthrowing the rule of U.S. imperialism and its lackeys, and smashing its neo-colonialist policy; this struggle is not only liberating the south but also frustrating the plots of U.S. imperialism to turn the southern part of our country into a military base against the socialist camp and to extend the wars in Indo-China and Southeast Asia. This struggle is itself a positive contribution to the cause of safeguarding world peace. In order to defend peace, it is very necessary to vigorously push forward the revolution in the south, and defeat the policy of aggression and war plots which U.S. imperialism is executing on our territory. Energetic

efforts to safeguard world peace include the consolidation and development of the strength of socialism, vigorous promotion of national-democratic struggles, and step-by-step repulse and bit-by-bit overthrow of imperialism. Because our Party is good at applying Marxism-Leninism and in integrating the demands of the struggle of the people throughout the world with the concrete conditions in our country and the demands of the struggle of our people, the ideas and line of the Vietnamese revolution as put forth by our Party are completely correct and have been leading us from victory to victory.

In order that our Party and people may achieve great victories in our revolutionary cause, our Party in implementing its correct revolutionary line has, since the day of its birth, waged struggles against all kinds of tendencies and deviations, chiefly Right deviations. As many comrades have said, at present under the difficult and complex conditions in our country's new revolutionary stage and under the complex conditions in the international communist movement, some comrades in our Party have come under the influence of modern revisionism. Although their number is small, it is not a good thing and we must pay attention to it. What then shall we do to prevent modern revisionism from corroding our Party?

The basic situation is this: Ours is a revolutionary Party and its line is thoroughly revolutionary. In the socialist revolution in the northern part of our country, we are carrying out three closely inter-related revolutions: revolution in the relations of production, technological revolution, and ideological and cultural revolution. In the south our people are carrying out vigorously the rev-

olution against imperialism and feudalism, for the liberation of the south and for the defence of peace in the whole country and in Southeast Asia. The people of our entire country are now in a fervent and intense revolutionary situation. The vast majority of our cadres and Party members are indeed revolutionary, but in this sharp class struggle some of them have shown Right tendencies on some international and domestic issues. If an opportunity offers itself, such as when the revolution meets with difficulties, these Right tendencies may possibly become a fertile soil in which modern revisionism can take root and grow. Our people's revolutionary task is still a long, difficult and complex one. Our Party must maintain high vigilance. In order to effectively prevent modern revisionism from corroding our Party, we shall see to it that revisionism be not allowed a soil to grow on no matter how conditions may change. Our Party must, therefore, take the following concrete measures:

1. Enable the cadres and Party members to secure a deep knowledge and understanding of the Party's line. The Party's line is a revolutionary line which is incompatible with modern revisionism. If the cadres and Party members understand and have firm faith in this line, modern revisionist views will be unable to gain a foothold among them; and even if revisionist ideas should sneak in they will be immediately driven out.

2. Continue to help the cadres and Party members to maintain a firm proletarian stand, eliminate the survivals of petty-bourgeois ideas and influences of bourgeois ideology, and in particular resolutely oppose individualism, the ideological root of modern revisionism. Some Communists have turned into revisionists because they

are afraid of arduous revolutionary struggles and afraid of making sacrifices. Desiring an easy and comfortable life, they take an interest in bourgeois customs, usages, ways of life and ideas. The lofty and noble communist ideals have gone out of their minds. They look to the way of life of the Western bourgeoisie as an example and their highest aim of struggle. They fear imperialism and reactionaries, make compromises with them and even capitulate to them ideologically. It is, therefore, necessary to continue to help our cadres foster firm revolutionary will and genuine patriotic spirit combined with the spirit of proletarian internationalism, to oppose bourgeois nationalism, big-nation chauvinism and narrow nationalism. We must also continue to help them develop their industrious, thrifty, honest and upright character so that they may have a high sense of responsibility towards the people, and constantly concern themselves with the improvement of the people's material and intellectual life, which they should regard as a lofty task of Communists. But we must struggle to oppose the desire for a life of ease and comfort and pleasure-seeking and must fight decadence and degeneration.

3. Enhance the sense of discipline of the cadres and Party members and to combat liberalism and sectarianism. We must also make the utmost efforts to perfect the organization of the Party branches so that they will grow to be the Party's solid bulwarks where Party members are given regular political education and where the high moral character of Communists is developed.

4. Organize systematic study of Marxism-Leninism, study current events and vigorously criticize modern revisionism.

We must pay great attention to raising our vigilance against modern revisionism which is a grave menace to the revolutionary movement. Once it penetrates our Party it will corrode the revolutionary spirit of our Party and people and will become a useful lackey of the hostile classes and an ally, in an objective sense, of imperialism. We cannot but hate modern revisionism in the same way as we hate imperialism.

The purposes of opposing modern revisionism are: to strengthen the struggle against imperialism, to vigorously promote the revolutionary cause of the people of the world, to safeguard the international communist movement and the socialist camp, and also to defend our Party and the revolutionary cause of our Party and people. But how can we effectively oppose modern revisionism? How can we combat modern revisionism in such a way that our struggle against imperialism will not be weakened? It must be done through an ideological struggle to be waged by the Marxist-Leninists, and the more important thing is to defeat modern revisionism through developing the cause of revolutionary struggle of the people of the socialist countries and the people throughout the world. For the development of this cause will most effectively expose the baseless, anti-scientific and harmful arguments of modern revisionism and bring about their bankruptcy. The unity of the international communist movement, unity of the socialist camp and particularly unity between the Soviet Union and China play an important, and indeed a decisive, role in the revolutionary cause of the people of the world. We believe that the unity of the socialist camp is an objective product of history. No force can destroy it because no force can destroy the immense vitality of the socialist system

and socialist relations of production. Our Party's attitude is, therefore, as follows: First, to distinguish right from wrong and expose the modern revisionist views, and secondly, to strengthen the unity of the international communist movement and the socialist camp, particularly the unity between the Soviet Union and China.

President Ho Chi Minh frequently teaches us that international unity is an indispensable factor for the victory of the Vietnamese revolution. In the cause of international unity our Party attaches particular importance to our unity with the Soviet Union and the Soviet Communist Party, and with China and the Chinese Communist Party.

Thanks to the Russian October Revolution and especially to the assistance of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, our people were awakened, Marxism-Leninism spread in Viet Nam and our Party was born. In the days of the most arduous struggle under the iron hoofs of imperialism and colonialism, in the darkest hours, in the imperialist prisons, or on the execution grounds, every Vietnamese Communist felt his heart brighten at the glowing image of the great Soviet Union. The Vietnamese Communists were thus inspired to maintain an unyielding spirit and instilled with unwavering confidence in the victory of their cause. The brilliant victory won by the Soviet Army and people in their anti-fascist war created favourable conditions for the Vietnamese people to stage a general uprising to seize state power in the August (1945) Revolution. The support and assistance given to our people by the Soviet Union in our war of resistance and the Soviet Union's role as a chairman in the Geneva Conference of 1954 were important contributions to our victory in the resistance war and to the res-

toration of peace in Viet Nam on the basis of recognition of the sovereignty, independence and unification of our country. Since the restoration of peace, the Soviet Union has given its assistance in many fields to our people in their socialist construction in the northern part of our country and rendered its enthusiastic support to our compatriots in the south in their patriotic struggle.

The relations between China and Viet Nam are as close as lips to teeth. The people of the two countries have stood together through thick and thin. The Chinese revolution gave inestimable help to the Vietnamese revolution from the latter's early period. During World War II the people of our two countries worked closely together in co-ordination with the anti-fascist struggle of the world's democratic camp headed by the Soviet Union and fought shoulder to shoulder in mutual support in the struggle against the Japanese fascists. The great victory of the Chinese revolution in 1949 and the Chinese people's great assistance to our people's war of resistance were tremendous contributions to the success of our resistance. Since the restoration of peace in Indo-China, China has continuously helped our country in its socialist construction in the north and given full support to the revolutionary struggle of our southern compatriots.

The support given to the Vietnamese revolution by the Soviet Union and China has been indeed very great. As President Ho Chi Minh has said: "It shows unbounded love, unfailing friendship and deep affection!"

One of the noblest revolutionary sentiments in which our Party has long taught our people is the sentiment of friendship and appreciation towards the Soviet Union and China. It has become part of our people's flesh and blood. Our Party is proud of it and will cherish it for

ever in our hearts. Storms and stress may come, but we shall do everything we can to keep it ever fresh and flourishing.

By adhering to revolutionary Marxism-Leninism, distinguishing right from wrong, persisting in the struggle against modern revisionism, firmly maintaining international unity, particularly unity with the Soviet Union and China, and exerting efforts to complete our own revolutionary tasks, our Party and people will be able to make worthy contributions to the common struggle of the people of the world against imperialism headed by the United States and to the cause of peace, national liberation, democracy and socialism.

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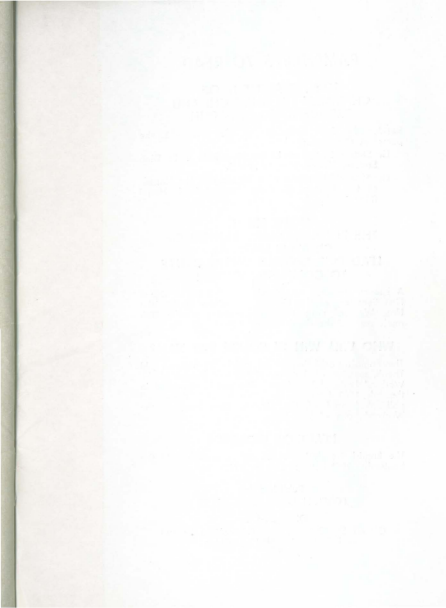
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PAMPHLETS TO READ

JOINT STATEMENT OF CHAIRMAN LIU SHAO-CHI AND PRESIDENT HO CHI MINH

Besides this Joint Statement of May 16, 1963, the pamphlet also gives:

Liu Shao-chi's Speech at the Mass Rally in Ba Dinh Square, Hanoi (May 12, 1963)

Liu Shao-chi's Speech at a Meeting in His Honour at the Nguyen Ai Quoc Party School, Hanoi (May 15, 1963)

HOLD HIGH THE REVOLUTIONARY BANNER OF CREATIVE MARXISM, LEAD OUR REVOLUTIONARY CAUSE TO COMPLETE VICTORY!

A speech delivered on March 13, 1963 by Le Duan, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party in commemoration of the 80th anniversary of the death of Karl Marx.

WHO WILL WIN IN SOUTH VIET NAM?

The English translation of an article by Nguyen Chi Thanh, member of the Central Political Bureau of the Workers' Party of Viet Nam. The article appeared in the July 1963 issue of *Hoc Tap (Study)*, theoretical political journal of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Viet Nam.

PEACE OR VIOLENCE

The English translation of an article published in the September 1963 issue of *Hoc Tap (Study)*.

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